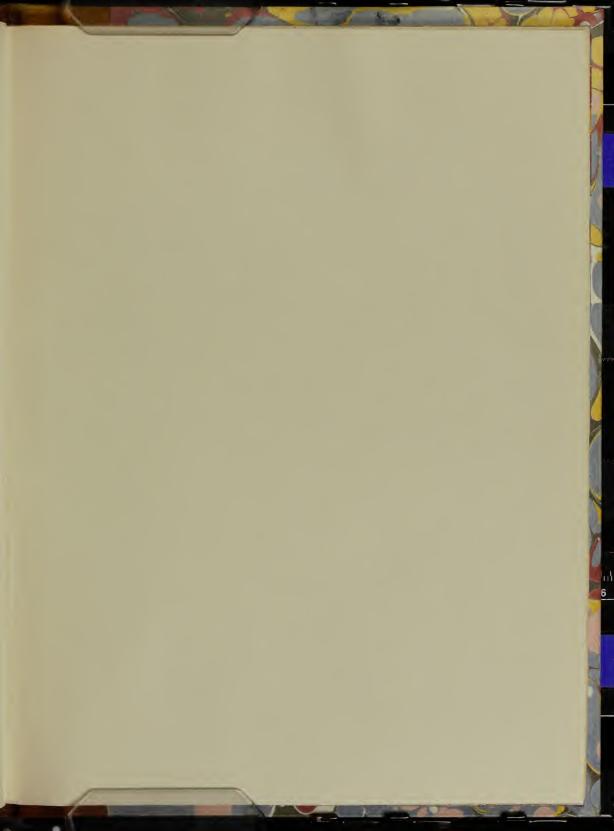
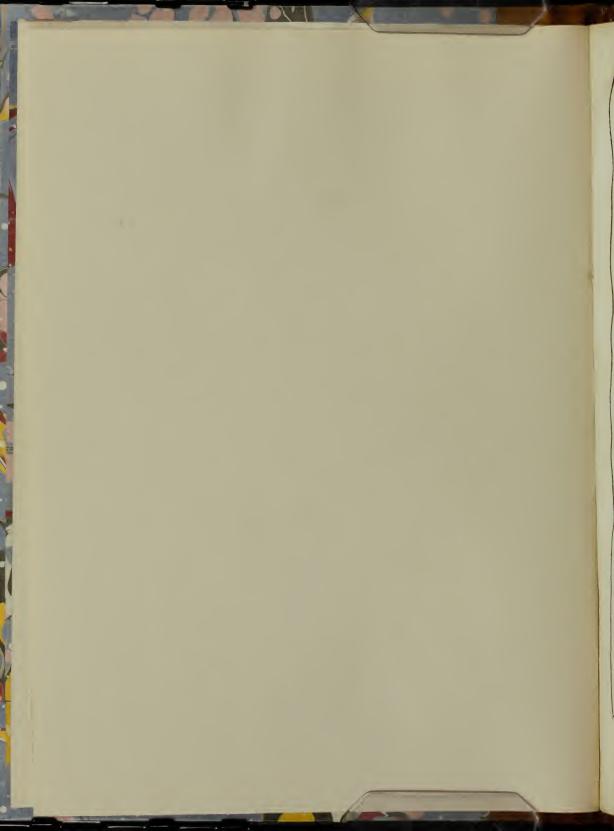


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IN A

LETTER

From a Gentleman to his Friend in

LONDON.

LICENS'D

August the 23d. 1689.

L O N D O N

Printed for Richard Baldwin near the Black Bull in the Old Baily. M DC LXXXIX.

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SIR,

Have heard that it hath been the Imployment of some days among the Exiles of Ireland, to frame a Proclamation for Pardoning the Irish Rebels.

Rebels.

Both the Subject and Authors, I confess, to me feem Novel. I hardly thought those men that are up to the Elbows in English Blood, should be treated like Children, who pettishly quarrel at each others. Interest in their Father, whose Emulous Contentions deserve a smaller Chastisement. Nor did I expect to see so great Condescention in a Prince, as to advise with every individual man of that Kingdom, how he may secure him; both is demonstration of what we all believed.

God hath sent him to do his own work, and given him his own Spirit, wonderful in Power, yet

fliadowed with Mercy.

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Which however the Irish can little either esteem, or deserve, is well enough known to the British Protestants of that Kingdom, as perhaps it would be to those of England, if considered by them.

I will here in some few Instances, give my thoughts, why it is so, as briefly as the subject will admit, reserving what more should be said, to a larger Discourse, which I design on this subject.

The innate Aversion the Irish ever had to the English, even when Religion and Interest were the

same, History witnesseth.

That when the English were called over by their own Kings, and fought their Battles; yet at the same time were they murdered by those whom they

had delivered.

And no Indulgence could ever prevail with them, to be true to the Crown of England, no not Titles of Honour, Marriages with English, Grants, and Imployments from the Crown: all was (upon the least opportunity) trampled under foot by them, whose Venom covered all the Antidotes of Clemen-

cy, Honour, and Profit.

Lust sometimes prevailed so with them, as to oblige their Grandees, when they could not by indirect means obtain their satisfaction, to gain it by Marriage with the Enolist; and though their delight in the Beauty and Humour of their Loves was great, yet could it not restrain their Inhumane Barbarity to the Parents of the Child they had in their Bosom. It becomes not the eyes of a Christian to see the Character of their Bestiality; but they who are inquisitive may read some of it in the History of Ireland; but greater Examples were in the Rebellion of Forty One.

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I need not mention their Legends in that War, they are so fresh in the memories of all, who are concerned in that Kingdom; but I shall come nearer the scope of my design, which is to shew, That Pardon and Lenity to them, however it carries the face of mercy, is really the contrary.

And then, that it will not attain the end designed, (viz.) the more easie reduction of that Kingdom.

For the first, Mercy in its proper signification and intent, is a work of deliverance, and preservation, and must at least bear the majority whereever it extends, in preserving the Rights of men.

Now the giving pardon to the Irish, is not so, unless it be granted, that the English of Ireland have

been Ulurpers of their Rights.

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It is obvious to every Eye, that by the present Rebellion of Ireland, the whole Kingdom is ruined, Thousands of Protestants murdered, starved, and otherwise destroyed. The Question then is by whom hath all this been done? Was it by the Irish? That is Indubitable. But was not there provocation from the English? That may be a question from Strangers to that Kingdom, and therefore I will answer it by a short Narrative of the condition that Kingdom stood in, when this last ravage was committed by the Irish.

Tyrconnel was in the Government a bitter Enemy to the English, and Brittish Protestants, the English

Militia had been two years before disarmed.

The English Army Disbanded, and an Irish Army in the room.

The Corporations new modell'd, the Protestants turned out, and the Papists put in the Government of them.

Popiffs

Popish Judges, Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, Coroners, and Constables, through the Kingdom.

This shews they could be under no hardships

from the Protestants.

And far from fear of them, that were indeed little better than Priloners, ever fince the Accession of King

Fames to the Crown.

But it may be said, the Protestants were for King William, then Prince of Orange. No doubt all good men were for him that would restore the Kingdoms to their Laws, and Religion; but yet the English were under too strict a Guard, and had no power in their hands to secure themselves; so that there was not (I may say) a Man in the Kingdom, declared for the Prince until February, and most of their Rapin and Pevastation was committed before.

This I presume, is enough to satisfie any indifferent man, that without the least provocation or pretence of right, the Irish Papists have committed these late Massacres, Burnings, and Devastations on the Prote-

stants of Ireland.

Now had these mischies been reciprocal injuries done on both sides, though they that were in the right had been sufferers for the King's Service; yet there might have been room for the King's Mercy: But where all the sury of a malicious enemy, fell upon an innocent and quiet people, for no reason that they can pretend unto, but that they believed they were for King William in their hearts: This seems a strange warrant for them, as it is happily without precedent, if in all its Circumstances it be considered, that such monsters of men should have pardon; the impunity of whom as the Latin Phrase hath it, is an injury to all good and honest men.

And now I come to shew, that this Proclamation of Pardon cannot be thought mercy; I must remember that I am confined to a Letter, and therefore bounded in my Discourse.

I presume then, that seems not an act of mercy, which protects Offenders in their invading the Lives

and Properties of Honest men.

Because, according to my first Position, mercy must be circumscribed within the limits of common right; otherwise the peaceable man would have no security; Government would become an Out-law, and Banditties, our *Ministers of State*.

But to come nearer the matter, it is the Maxim of Princes to carry an equal hand in Government; and a General Pardon is a mutual good; now at least may the King's Friends (pardon the familiarness of the expression) put in for as great a share in his mercy, as his enemies?

The Protestants pray, let us be included in your Pardon for our Estates: It would be thought impossible that the Champion of the Reformation, and Protestant Religion, should return: No, I have given them to your, and my Enemies.

This would feem feverer, than that hasty judgment of David, Let Ziba and thou divide; for here the Irish have all, without the pretence of that Sycophant

who met the King on the way.

ry to

I would not restrain the Fountain of our King's mercy, but if the Stream be turned from his Inclosures into the Common, I think we may complain of those Avaritious hands that do it.

We have Invincible Evidence, that his Royal Thoughts are for us; in that he lets us, nay, bids us, fpeak; and fince we see his mercy, like the Divinity that guides him, is over all his actions: His bleeding Subjects, that have suffered so much in the Cause he

owns,

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owns, only pray they may not be excluded from the benefit of his Grace and Favour: they defire not the property of their Enemies, but pray for their own; not for Lossesin War, which our pretended Friends, but secret Enemies would infinuate; but for Robberies, and Outrages committed in time of Peace; and such as had their own Government and King been able to affert but part of the Laws, I verily believe would

have, in a great measure, been recovered.

I have heard some bring his Majesty's Proclamation of Pardon in Scotland, as an Argument against us: I confess, to me such instances, especially from men of understanding, only confirm the apprehensions many have, which is not my business here to mention; this I will say, in my Inquiries, I find it not in our Ministers of State, but a small Fry that hope to sat themselves in the troubled Waters of Ireland. They have heard the Irish can bribe, and they are loth to see the English Treasure they have got, taken from them; but that it may be left to be offered at their Altars.

But to return, it seems easie to answer that of Scotland, which is in no point Parallel with that of Ireland: They of Scotland, a few misled People that run on, under pretence of their Religion, and under their Lords: these of Ireland had no such pretence, for they were under their own Government, had no restraint

in their Religion.

They of Scotland committed no Murders, or Robberies, at their first going out, but were in their own defence.

They of Ireland, began with both, when no man op-

posed them.

They of Scotland, such as it is, had a pretence, at least perswaded to it by their Leaders, for King James and his Commission.

But

But they of Ireland, had not so much as that, when they committed their Barbarity in Ireland. And to make them more evidently notorious, their own Government made Proclamation against it, though no doubt their chief Men set them under hand upon it,

though it was too favage, and cruel to own.

But to end this Argument, relating to Scotland, they are of one Nation, and Interest; and his Majestie's Mercy when given to such, may be said to extend to all: For their Religion, Friends and Relations are in a great measure universal among them, and what those Rebels do, is under a pretended Commission, and may so be under the Construction of War, and then more proper for pardon.

But they of *Ireland*, not to enumerate particulars, are in every one of these circumstances foreign to the

Brittish Protestants there.

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imes

I will now trouble you with the reasons that are perswasive with one, that this General and Free Pardon will not prevail, to the end designed, that is, for the speedy reduction of Ireland. We that know the genius of the Irish, are not ignorant, that they were never prevailed with by Civilities, and Indulgence; they are like their Boggs, never to be trusted to by going gently over, nor safely but by cutting your way to the bottom.

If you offer to them either, in War, or Peace, terms of Accommodation, they think themselves of the

stronger side, and will never submit.

I could give several Instances in this present Rebellion, where Gentlemen have sent to some of their Grandees upon the assurance of former Friendship, and promises, of returning whatever kindness was shewn, at this time: but their return was nothing but insultings, and commanding their Horses away; when in two or three days after upon a Message from the same English Gentleman, threatning the Irish Don, he had them sent back.

I cannot see how it will affect them to the general laying down of Arms, but to the contrary incourage them, in their Rebellion for these Rea-

fons,

First, Is it be an Argument on our side to hasten the Conquest, for fear of the French assistance, or our other imbroyls, it is the same on theirs. For incouragement to hold out, in expectation of it. The Irish Understanding and Courage is observed to be by themselves understood, and depended upon, by negatives: the Enemy say they are assaid of us, therefore they know we are wise in Council and strong in Arms; if not, they would never offer us such terms, they have a Proverb, Never bid sirst; and they conclude he is in want that doth.

The next ground for my opinion, is, That the giving pardon to all that lay down Arms, &c. will be a means to enlarge the War. For no doubt, most of the men of Estates will come in, and be thereby the more serviceable to their Party, both as to giving them Advice, and Intelligence, and also Mony which they may receive out of their Estates, in the English Quarters, and their Friends of that in the

Irifb.

It feems a great mistake to believe, that by taking away the Men of Estates from the Irish, will oblige the rest to lay down Arms: it will have the quite contrary estect, and I verily believe that the Irish desire no better than to have them in the English Quarters.

It makes them confiderable in the Opinion of their own Party, that they should be so courted, and gives assurance

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assurance to the common People, that when the worst

is upon them, they have them to go to.

It may be thought a Maxim of War, from the World of the Moon, that upon a Rebellion the men of Estates, and Leaders into it, as soon as they have formed an Army and headed them, until they had got all the English Estates, should then be invited to Pardon, and so wait not only the present success of this, but for another Rebellion.

And this hath been too much the practice of the English Conquest of Ireland, which proving so often satal to the English, 'tis wonderful the same measures should be taken again: It really seems a Licence for the Irish to rebel, thus to pardon them that are only able to call

them to it.

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The Populace could never make a head, but by the affiftance of their Grandees; but when they are once in a body, then they are better commanded without them; and it is a favour to their common interest, to receive them into protection, and preservation against

another attempt.

To me it seems more reasonable to believe the pardoning the Populace, and excluding their Commanders, would be a readier way to have the Kingdom given up: for though the Irish heads of Clams influence the common people, whilst the Lands and Herds sollow them; yet that ceaseth when they are stript of both. It was a true Aphorism of the Bell wether, Neagle, in his Letter from Coventry, That the Natives of Ireland followed the Lords: you, and I know it in our own experience, how careless, and unnatural the common Irish of our Province are to their old Lords, when they often resused a days labour to them; and however the common Vogue runs of the command of the old Irish Proprietors have over the Schologues, I never saw it but

where they had some immediate dependance upon them as under-Tenants.

And it would be foon found in this case, if the Proclamation only extend to their private men, or at least

none exceeding the degree of a Captain.

The ordinary people affect not travelling, no not so much as out of one Province into another, let them have but liberty to return to their own Cabins, and be protected there, and they will account themselves happy.

I will not trouble you farther with my thoughts on this matter, only conclude with this, that befides the mistake of bringing the *Irish* to lay down their Arms by this General Pardon; this way would put a possibility in their hands (if they should at any time) to assume the same Rebellion again; which God avert.

Tunbridge
August. 20.
1689.

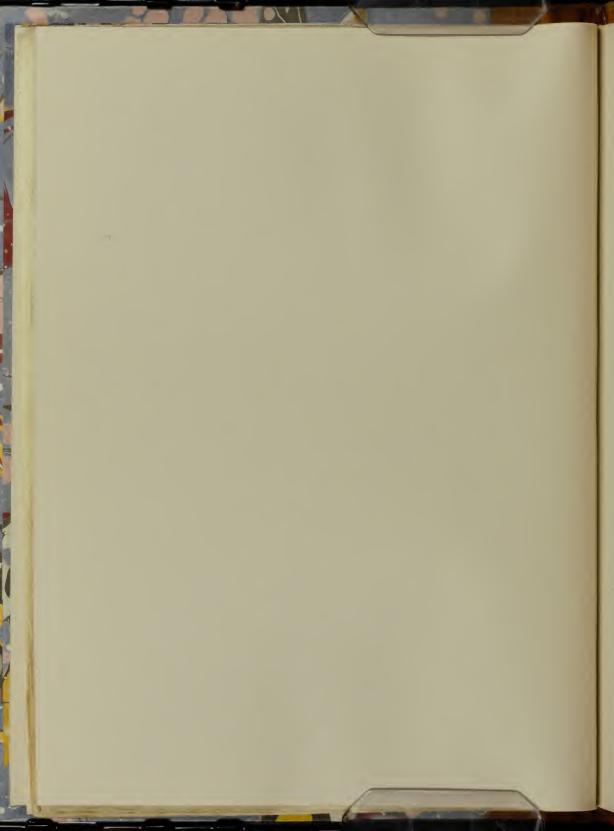
Your Affectionate Servant,

H. B.

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